

/419 cont./

462

conversation with other men for long hours (26).

• [517]

26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611

736

She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587

When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. According to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

264

593

462

All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance of her "atelier"; that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593

We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

364
(514)

THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenimi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manufactured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play outside and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the doorway of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

342
[796]
[764]
[252]
[32]
[517] •
342
574
576

When I came among the *Bahukim* they were on the upswing, having come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-compartment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenimi upakü* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relationships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of disaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

342
622
[114]

342
578
572

501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This
is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem
resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a
broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to
two or three to those of the prowman. When inertia has been over-
come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oar-
man's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A
fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the
canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a
long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spon-
taneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is
addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun
they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!"
501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about
517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying
[123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against
the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to
the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why
didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter
work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys,
each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are
in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then
occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They
also steer. On a long journey the prowman or stroke is always the
strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at
the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of bal-
ance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling
for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided be-
cause of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline.
Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the
men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting
poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push.
High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short
cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there
is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large
canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the
direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that